

spent from 6 to 14 months in the field. Although the original design of the study called for a sample of societies whose culture had been already studied by ethnologists, the temperament and motivation of young anthropologists are such that they tended to choose groups who are relatively unknown and who, often for some personal reason, appealed to their interests. The actual groups chosen represented a compromise between the advantages of previous coverage and these personal interests, in addition to providing the great range of differences desired by the project planners. Kimball and Romaine Romney of Harvard chose a group of families in the Mixtecan barrio of Santa Domingo in the town of Juxtlahuaca in Oaxaca province, Mexico. Leigh Minturn Triandis and John Hitchcock of Cornell selected a group of families of the Rājput caste in the town of Khalapur in Uttar Pradesh in northern India. William and Corinne Nydegger, also of Cornell, chose a group of Ilocano-speaking families living in hamlets in northern Luzon in the Philippines. Thomas and Hatsumi Maretzki of Yale chose the village of Taira in Okinawa. And John and Ann Fischer of Harvard moved into a neighborhood in Orchard Town in New England.

In 1955 a sixth team, Robert and Barbara LeVine, left for Kenya, Africa. They were financed by a Ford Foundation fellowship and a National Science Foundation predoctoral fellowship. [22]

To help insure comparability of data, a central clearing house was set up at the Laboratory of Human Development under the supervision of Beatrice B. Whiting. Field notes were mailed in periodically, and field problems were discussed by correspondence. To prevent bias, the sample of children for each team to observe was picked by the staff at the laboratory from the census material. [24] ●

The research design, agreed on by all the field teams, was set up to measure as accurately as possible the child-training practices and the hypothesized individual and cultural differences in personality, particularly in the areas of aggression, dependency, and the internalization of various mechanisms of behavior control—areas of particular theoretical interest to the senior investigators at Cornell, Yale, and Harvard universities, respectively. Previous research had been done in these areas at the Institute of Human Relations at Yale, at the Iowa Child Welfare Station under the direction of Robert Sears, and subsequently at the Laboratory of Human Development at Harvard University. The research conducted at the last two institutions had focused on a study of individual differences among groups of mothers and children in Iowa, Massachusetts, and among three different cultural groups in the Southwest. Cross-cultural research on aggression was conducted by

4 Introduction

- 121 Lambert and Triandis at Cornell (1959), on self-reliance and responsibility at Yale by Barry, Child, and Bacon, (1959) and on socialization techniques in the Southwest at Harvard by Whiting, Chasdi, Antonovsky, and Ayres (in press).

In designing the research reported in this volume, an attempt has been made to assess individual as well as cultural differences. This is one of the unique aspects of the design. The hope was to test hypotheses concerning the relations of child-rearing practices and consequent personality, both intraculturally and cross-culturally. In the first instance, 24 mothers in each society were studied as individuals in their relationship to one of their children, and each of the 24 children (ages 3 to 10) was observed and interviewed in a standard manner in the hope of detecting behavioral and personality differences. The cross-cultural measures included material on child-training practices and also religious beliefs, theories of disease, recreational activities, and so on collected by standard ethnographic techniques.

124 A word should be said here concerning the nature of the unit which each field team chose to study. It was decided to choose a group large enough to yield an adequate sample of individual families. For our design this meant a group of at least 50 families would be needed to draw our sample of 24, since at least half the families would have grown-up children or children under 3. On the other hand, we wanted a group who knew each other and shared beliefs, values, and practices. Furthermore, the ethnographic techniques which we intended to employ—to be used with maximum efficiency—require a small group. Each team therefore chose a community of between 50 and 100 families, which was for them their unit of study.

121
B
155 Implicit in the research design is a general concept of the relation of personality to culture, which may be presented as follows: The ecology of the area determines the maintenance systems, which include basic economy and the most elementary variables of social structure. In other words, the type of crops grown, the presence or absence of herding, fishing, and so on, depend on the nature of the terrain, the amount of rainfall, the location of the area *vis-à-vis* centers of invention and diffusion. These basic economic conditions determine in part the arrangement of people in space, the type of houses, and household composition. These in turn set the parameters for child-rearing practices.

It is obvious that ecology does no more than set gross parameters for the social structure. Within these parameters, the nature of the composition of households, neighborhoods, and other social groups will lead to variance in child training. Whether or not a grandmother lives

Taira: An Okinawan Village 375

The community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles from the center (see map 1), the houses are scattered between the paddies or farm lands in sections which form subvillages or wards. As mentioned above, settlers from the south took up residence in these areas. Recently families from the main village have also moved to the more remote parts of the community, such as Udenaha, because they can reach their fields more conveniently. Although the name Taira refers to the political unit of main village and outlying parts, including Udenaha and Izena, most references in this study pertain only to the central community. Its 60 households, with about 330 individuals, form the primary social unit from which the sample of 24 children was chosen. [107] [162] [24]

Central Taira nestles along the inner shore of Taira Bay, which opens into the Pacific Ocean. At this point the median range mountains recede from the coastline. Behind the village, rice paddies spread in a crazed pattern at the bottom and on the terraced sides of several valleys which are separated from each other by sparsely wooded hills. Here and there the red earth of an eroded section shows like a scab through the green slopes. 361 133 [243]

In traveling by road from the south, most people choose the highway along the East China Sea coast, which is connected with the road which crosses the island. Higashi township is entered through a low saddle in the mountains which separate the two coastlines. To the right and left begins Taira's forest. Central Taira is reached through a winding lane bordered by pine trees. To the left the view opens into one of the neatly cultivated rice fields, backed by the hills on whose flat tops and terraced sides village people cultivate their farm lands. [49]

The central village itself lies on a sand bluff, separating the valley from the ocean, so that there is a slight drop toward both sides (see map 2). The main road runs the length of the village. Except for the thoroughfare, which is dirt and gravel, the side roads are not surfaced, and after heavy rains puddles form and remain for more than a day, to the delight of children who play in them. 361 [363]

When Taira was destroyed during World War II, along with its houses went much of the foliage which once served as a windbreak. A few fukugi trees* line the main street, and hibiscus hedges here and there hide some of the houses from a first inspection. There are bushes around the edges of the village. 363 137 727

The war-time destruction is hardly apparent on a first walk through the village. Along the main street, lined by houses, one finds the rice mill, a substantial new building of concrete and wood, the police sta- 36

* A small- to medium-sized evergreen tree with a narrow, upright, very dark green crown of leaves.

Taira: An Okinawan Village 481

In addition to meeting with physical and emotional needs, the child must be protected from the nurtured by the numerous supernatural forces in the form of malevolent and benevolent spirits which operate to influence the course of an individual's life. There are lucky and unlucky days, years, and tides, which are believed to determine the fate of a person. Females born in the year of the monkey are considered unlucky, for they are thought to outlive their male contemporaries. Men dislike marrying them. Supplications are made and precautionary measures taken by adults to secure the newborn's life, happiness, and health. 776 777 854 [581]

Ancestral spirits influence the development and fate of the child. Occasionally a child who is the victim of ill health during his early years is adopted by a couple whose ancestral spirits are thought to be more favorable than his own on the dictate of the fortune teller. By mysterious calculations involving birth dates of the principals, the fortune teller uncovers some incompatibility and advises adoption. The child remains with his parents but worships the ancestral spirits of his adoptive parents. In this way parents seek to ensure the well-being of the child. 597 769 755

Mother interview data indicate the awareness of Taira people of the variations in personality among children of one family. Adults do in a large measure adapt their actions in accord with these differences. They recognize hereditary influences, but although a mother may comment on the similarity of temperament with regard to her child and other members in the family or kin group, there are no ideas or beliefs that the souls of deceased are inherited. Usually the mother, in describing the characteristics of the child, rarely goes beyond likenesses which can be attributed to herself or her husband. She is at a loss to explain the "very different child." "My eldest son has my nasty temper whereas my second daughter is not like either of us, very strange. All the others have a little of myself and my husband in them. We often wonder how it is that she is so unlike either of us." 155 828 858 [124]

A child born with two cowlicks predicates a "problem" to his parents. Parents often explain, "Oh, this child is very naughty, for as you can see, he has two cowlicks." Children often search each other's heads, and on discovering two instead of the single whorl, they shout in glee, "Naughty, naughty." One 4-year-old cuddled and hugged his newborn sister after searching her head. "You have two cowlicks just like me! You and I are 'naughty,'" he whispered to her. Turning to the adults in the room, he snapped his small bright eyes and grinned impishly as he reported his discovery joyfully. [826]

Twin births are disliked only because they place a burden on the 845

865 "Play and fight are children's work." As one mother reported, "It is no
857 use. They fight and then before you know it, they are friends again.
[861] In Japan, parents often interfere with children's fights, but we here in
Okinawa don't believe in doing so. It is much better to let them alone
unless they injure one another. The way it is, it would make an adult
look like a fool to interfere." Some parents attempt to channel aggression
by calling a wrestling match between boys who start arguing. In
this way, rock throwing and fighting with sticks are avoided, and the
boys can work off their anger, but hitting, biting, and pushing, as well
as rock throwing, were observed among children of this age. As the
children approach school age and gain facility in language, they resort
more and more to verbal aggression; however, as will be discussed
later, some physical aggression is carried over in the behavior of boys
toward girls. At no time is aggression toward younger children tolerated.

●[24] Only after exhaustive questioning can one get parents to admit that
they train their children to retaliate. "Never fight; if someone hits
you, just walk away, for you (in thus showing your strength to resist)
will win the fight; fighting is bad," instruct mothers, according to the
mother interview. Informal talks nevertheless revealed that parents
disliked it if their children are underdogs all the time.

865 Boys are expected to be more aggressive than girls, who are, ideally,
858 docile, gentle mannered, kind, reserved, and considerate. In some ways
adults seem to train little boys to be aggressive. Beginning in infancy
they tease and bully them, holding their arms and restricting them
bodily, withdrawing desired objects and pretending to scold and hit.
They glean great amusement at the expense of the child if he screams
and strikes out in anger. The adult expresses surprise and mock anger.
Finally, when he cries, everyone will laugh while the mother retaliates
by playfully slapping the aggressor. While most of this kind of teasing
is restricted to male infants and young boys, female children are not
exempt.

865 Irritable, pushy children do not exist in Taira. Those who try to get
155 things by "walking over others" do not get far, for children ostracize
and avoid them. One 4-year-old, observed over a period of months,
altered his methods of acquiring goals from pushing and bullying to
socially sanctioned techniques, such as asking, waiting his turn, and
sharing. The change was startling. Adults passing on a group of children
that included this former bully no longer had to scream warnings
at him, and his mother felt she did not have to "look after him" any
more. During the time of this study, only the children of a recently
arrived fisherman and his wife were ostracized by parents as being far

506 Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing

861
 [124] Physical punishment is much more frequent than the mothers' interview answers would lead one to believe. In parent-child or sibling interactions observed by us, the scolding or talking was usually simultaneous with a sharp crack on the head with the knuckles or a slap on the buttocks. It is true that a great deal of leeway is generally given the child, but mothers home from a strenuous day in the fields are more apt to scream and spank at the same time.

Tying of hands or feet for several minutes, or as much as an hour, is considered appropriate punishment for those who trespass into forbidden areas or play with taboo things like matches. Sometimes the child's wrists are tied with a piece of rice-straw rope to the front house posts. One 1-year-old boy wandered down to the beach to play with his 3-year-old cousin despite repeated warnings from his mother to the effect that this area was dangerous. Because he disobeyed this rule, he was tied hand and foot. In addition, he was spanked because at the same time he had abandoned his younger brother in the village to go to the beach with his cousin.

861
 857 Another type of physical punishment, which is often threatened but rarely used, is cauterizing a piece of skin on the neck, back, or hands with moxa. Children in play situations frequently act out giving moxa to a naughty child with a lot of teasing and mock anger. "Come here, you naughty one, we will give you moxa," they scream to each other. A 1-year old girl was cauterized by her father when she threw her chopsticks on the floor in a fit of anger. Because he believed that food was not only the product of hard labor but also a sort of blessing from the gods, he felt that this very painful enforcement was just.

861
 867 Grandmothers, in particular, use pinching to enforce some rules of etiquette. If a child forgets and extends his foot toward another person, she will take the flesh of the leg between her thumb and index finger, lift it and with a quick twist administer a punishment which is very painful. After the initial experience, all she has to do is to put her hand in position for pinching to her lips and breathe out audibly as if to say, "I'm warming up!" and the child will correct himself.

861
 593
 [857] Older brothers and sisters are apt to be "quicker with the hand," according to mothers. Generally they agreed that this may be the reason for their effectiveness in handling their younger charges. Frequently all an older sibling needs to do is to raise a warning hand, look disapprovingly, or call with a stern voice when his charge is about to misbehave.

Although mothers do most of the spanking, scolding, and talking, children fear their fathers a great deal more than they do their mothers. Mothers claim that this is true in most cases and offer an ex-

Taira: An Okinawan Village 507

planation: "Maybe this is because the children know well our strength. 861
They don't know their father's strength but believe somehow that it 593
could be much more painful." One could, of course, relate this to the
cultural concept of maleness as opposed to femaleness as discussed
previously.

Praising and rewarding are techniques that are administered in a 861
very haphazard fashion in Taira. While the child is still very young,
up until he is about 2, praise and rewards are lavished on him for al-
most anything. If he responds to his mother's entreaties to hand over a [867]
stick with which he might hurt himself or to bow when meeting some-
one, he is hugged, kissed, and told over and over, "Good child, good
child."

As the child grows older, these extravagant displays of praise and
reward lessen. Instead the child may receive promises of something
good to eat or a coveted article of clothing in return for some good
deed or commendable behavior. Generally the child has to remind
his mother many times before he is actually rewarded. By the time the
child is of school age he takes these promises with a grain of salt and
usually forgets them himself. Only when the children were questioned [124] ●
by us on rewards did it become obvious that parents promised a great
deal more than they could ever hope to produce. For, from the plain
view of economics, no family could purchase all the goodies pledged
for good behavior. Nevertheless, for younger children these promises
mean something, and they always look forward to the day when their
mothers will color their evening rice red or make them some fried
dumplings. Rewarding a child with food proves to be as effective a [261]
technique of socialization as threatening to deprive him of food.

Occasionally, in a rare burst of enthusiasm, parents may reward a 857
child to make up for all the empty promises. During one of the rice 861
harvests, a 10-year-old boy worked alongside his parents with as much
concentrated effort as any adult. All day he stayed in the fields without
running away to join his playmates, as some other boys his age did. At
the end of the day his mother prepared some festive food. She colored
the rice, and the dinner was a merry one. The man from next door
who had helped out that day sat drinking sake with the boy's father.
"Here, why don't you have some sake, you did as much work as any of
us," offered the father. Neighbor and mother urged the boy on and
laughed merrily as the boy sipped a bit of the sake.

Even before he is able to understand the significance of the words, 861
a child in Taira is praised and censured with "good child," and
"naughty child." Especially during infancy, mothers will tease babies
by gently slapping them and saying over and over with mock anger,

508 Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing

861 "naughty child." When the child is about 5 months and capable of responding to smiles and a disapproving eye, his mother will murmur affectionately, "good child," to encourage and praise. She will open her eyes wide, assume a disapproving look, and scold, "naughty child, naughty child," to discourage and censure him.

A 7-year-old girl was carrying a large winnowing basket filled with potato peelings from her uncle's house to her own. Behind her trailed her 3-year-old brother who was well known for his crying. Suddenly, for no apparent reason, the little boy started to scream and cry for his sister to carry him. The 7-year-old tried to no avail to get the boy to follow her. She shifted the basket to her head, stooped down, and the boy scrambled onto her back. With some effort she stood up, one hand on the basket and the other around the boy's buttocks. The boy clung to his sister's neck and grinned. "Naughty child," murmured the field-worker's companion, a 23-year-old girl. To the 7-year-old girl she then turned and said admiringly, "Good child that you are!"

"Be a good child and do this . . ." instructs an adult to a child. "Naughty child that you are, making your sister cry," one child is chided by another. Praising and punishing by referring to the person of the child as the locus of evaluation are most frequent. The child's action itself, or his response to a particular situation, is usually not evaluated. Very few adults set a standard which is intended as a guide to the child's performance of a task. Therefore children who have completed a task do not ask themselves: "Did I do it well?" or "Did I do it poorly?" If scolded for inadequate performance, the child may echo reprimands by saying to himself: "I was bad to do it that way," or "I was bad to do that" and not: "That was a bad thing to do."

Words which evaluate the person rather than the action are generally applied only to children under 12, although occasionally one hears a young adult say to another teasingly, "Ah, good child," in praise or "naughty child" in response to being tricked.

861
776
● [24] Of the 24 mothers interviewed, only three reported they did not refer to a deity to control their children's behavior. This deity is always present, always watching and can be depended on to punish the erring child. To the child, this god is a being to be feared, although he is told that not only his misbehavior is observed but also his good behavior. "The divine being is everywhere. When you are alone and do something bad, you might think that no one knows about it, but the god knows and he will punish you," warn mothers. This technique of control is very useful in Taira, where the children spend a great deal of time without adult supervision.

318 Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing

855 as the child began to fuss or show signs of fatigue. The kindergarten
593 child often directs his succorant appeals to his father, particularly
861 in a nuclear family, but the father in turn directs the child to his
mother. Should there be any discrepancy in thought as to the way
a child should be handled in specific problematic situations, the
mother will defer out of custom to the father. Such cases, however,
are rare, for men, in informal interviews, generally felt that "women
knew better" where children's affairs were concerned. Only one out
of 24 fathers believed that he should "train and discipline" the male
child and his wife should confine herself to the female children.

• [124] The school age child seems to have more fear of his father. "If
father is at home," reports one mother, "the children returning from
school go about quietly putting their books away, clean the yard,
study, then take the younger siblings out with them to play." She
added, "If father is not at home, they drop their books on the porch
and run out to play, leaving the house and yard in a mess and me
with the babies!"

593 It should be noted that fathers spend less time at home than any
512 other member of the household. Men who work in the mountains
go out after the morning meal and often do not return until dark.
A man returning at noon seldom sees the children, who are out play-
ing or at school. Since there are no weekly rest days, children see their
fathers mainly in the evening after dark or on holidays. But even
then fathers spend their time visiting around or entertaining neigh-
bors and relatives in their own homes. Contact with father is, there-
fore, only sporadic and is not affected by a special desire on the part
of fathers to spend time with children. It should be noted, however,
that the mere presence of the father in the house has an effect on
the child's behavior.

593 Next to mother and grandmother, older children in the house-
855 hold are very important child-rearing agents. These are mostly the
older siblings, but occasionally a young unmarried aunt or uncle who
lives with the family looks after a child. Children between the ages
[857] of 5 and 12 take care of younger children; adolescent siblings or
aunts do so to a much lesser extent. The obvious reason for this is
that in the distribution of duties in the home, the care of a younger
child falls to those who are not otherwise burdened with such respon-
sibilities as exacting studies during junior high school or economic
activities in fields and mountains, which begin after graduation from
school. While adults, except for the old folks, are in fields and
mountains, a young child spends much of his time on the back of
the older kindergarten or school age sibling or as a toddler in tow
of an older one.

Taira: An Okinawan Village 521

sure in responsibility training. When tasks are mere routine, interfering with playing and other favorite activities, they are not always discharged with enthusiasm. We have already referred to this in the discussion of child care. On the other hand, there are many expressions, starting actually at kindergarten level, which reveal identification with adolescents and adults. 857 866 [156]

To the question, "What would you like to do best?" there were such answers from boys as: "I would like to go to the mountains and earn money" (7 years), and "I would like to plant rice" (8 years); and from girls: "I would like to cook, and I would like to transplant rice" (7 years), "I would like to cook rice and soup" (7 years with a wide grin), and "I would like to teach other children calculation if they need help, and take the place of the teacher" (10 years), adding, "Then I can punish boys who bully girls, too." [124]

We learned something more about the identification with older children and young adults, and perhaps a feeling of envy of their status, from answers to questions such as, "Who would you like to be most if you could be changed into anybody by magic?" and "What age would you be if you could be any age?" And, in answering, children also revealed something of their needs, motivations, and goals. A 7-year-old boy stated that, "I would like to be 15 years old, then I can go deep places to swim . . . and then I can go to the mountains and earn money and buy rice, noodles, and help father and mother." He then expressed achievement motivation in his answer: "I would like to become a scholar on plant roots. Then I will know why trees wither and die. I want to save them because otherwise people cannot make money. Then I will be happy and feel good." Although this boy's father is not one of the prominent village leaders, he seems here to express the feeling which, we believe, explains much of the responsible behavior in village leaders. We also see a desire for independence in the answer of a 10-year-old boy, "I would like to be 20 years, then I can go and do work on my own," and nurturance with an almost sanctimonious overtone, perhaps linked to hidden anxiety about aggression, in this response to the magic man query, "I would have him change me into a big, big person. Then I can go and hit anyone who bullies little persons . . . I can look all over the whole village and catch all bad persons and talk to them . . . I can make them all good." This answer, which expresses, again, achievement desires was given by an 8-year-old boy, "I would like to be 16 years old because then studies will be easier and I can wrestle like the *seinen* (young adults)," followed by "Make me into a town-ship official because they have 'good heads' (are intelligent) and they [124]

857
866 help the people. Then I can buy food with the money I earn and save some for a new house." Other boys, too, revealed a combination of achievement-oriented and nurturant needs and over-all qualities of responsibilities which characterize leading adults in the community. But there are also dependence needs in boys, such as expressed by this 10-year-old, "I would like to be the youngest baby . . . because everyone loves that one" (in response to the question "If you could be anybody in the family, would you like to be a father, mother, or a baby?") But the answer of a 7-year-old boy: "I want to become father, then I can raise potatoes, rice, and other things" is more typical of the Taira boys in this age group than the previous one.

• [124] Girls were quite explicit in their nurturance motivation, but they, too, used answers to reveal other desires. "I'd like to be mother so that I can cook and go to the mountains" (6 years); "I'd like to be 14, then I can fetch water and go on real errands and get money," and by the same girl (7 years), "I would like to be like K. (a girl of about 20 years) because she is an employee of the *yakuba*" (the servant and general helper at the township office). Several girls wanted to be the age of their older sisters, because, as one (6 years) said, "She buys things for me and she can buy all kinds of things for me." A real strong dependence need and a reflection of economic privations in her family, one of the poorest in Taira, was revealed by a 6-year-old girl: "I would like to become someone else's big sister . . . like the Kawata (village) rice miller's . . . because then I can eat a lot of rice," followed by, "I'd like to be Y. (baby sister) because she is small . . . because she is not even in kindergarten and father and mother will take me around with them."

Taira female adults' roles are apparently well recognized and correctly interpreted by these girls, and identifications are appropriate. Only one girl referred to a professional career, open to women, but her answer reveals very practical reasons for achievement striving: "I'd like to be a teacher, then I can do well in studies and do all kinds of studying . . . can earn money. With that money I can buy clothes and hats. And when anyone speaks *hōgen* (dialect), I can hit them with a stick and give them all failing grades. . . . Then I'll feel good!"

SCHOOL ROUTINE

872
857
512
[858]

The school, like the parents, expects more of the 8- to 12-year-olds. The session is longer, lasting until 4:00 in the afternoon and reducing

ATTITUDES TOWARD ACHIEVEMENT

Observations revealed there is a contrast between home and school setting in attitudes and treatment of achievement-oriented and competitive behavior. The classroom situation tends to breed competition. Eager attempts to answer questions and to get the teacher's attention by raising a hand and calling out suggest competitive spirit. There was little we observed in the village which seemed to bolster competitive behavior, except for some games and occasional wrestling and athletic practice. Parents discourage boasting in children and in our presence gave little evidence of fostering achievement. However, if we now let the children speak, and then mothers (unfortunately fathers were not interviewed), one might get a different impression of the parental role in achievement training. (12)

In answer to the questions "How do you feel about doing something better than anybody else your age? When you're not the best, do you ever practice so you can do better?" the six boys in our sample agreed that they would like to be first. One 8-year-old answered: "Yes, I would like to be better than my classmates." "But," he adds, "no, I don't practice or study when I am not first . . . only sometimes. If I am last I would practice and study because I would get scolded by the teacher and my parents. . . . I would be ashamed because others would laugh at me. But if I am average, I won't do anything, I don't care." Two other boys implied that they would do little to improve their position if they were in the middle, or as one put it, "I do want to be first, but I don't do anything about it . . . not much anyway." (866, 876)

The fear of being scolded by parents is also expressed in the answer of four others in this group. Shame was mentioned only by one other boy, but among those who fear scolding at home were two whose parents are exceptional in stressing good performance at home and driving their children toward higher standards. They responded, as one might expect, with expressions such as: "Yes, I would rather be better than all others. . . . In the middle? No, I would rather be first." Only one of these two mentioned fear of scolding as an incentive.

Girls' answers differed slightly in the somewhat greater emphasis on performing well and making determined efforts in this direction. One reply, "Yes, I will study hard to become first. Even if I am in the middle, I will try hard so I can be first. I don't feel good being

Taira: An Okinawan Village 599

have little time and patience to concern themselves seriously with their children's schoolwork; and since their daily work is hardly an inspiration to the child to improve his scholastic activities, there is some question in how much parental influence is relevant here. Moreover, mothers are always under pressure from the teachers to urge their children to work hard and would respond to such an obviously weighted question in this fashion to a person to whom they accorded the same polite title in address, which they use toward their children's teacher, *sensei* (i.e., the interviewer). It is also a fact that teachers have had difficulty getting parents to cooperate in training their children to establish regular home-study habits. Fathers, on the whole, seem even less consistent than mothers in supervising schoolwork. The fact that most boys would like to be first but make concentrated efforts to improve their work only if they perform poorly suggests that parental discipline usually does not function effectively until the child has become severely delinquent in his studies.

If the desire to cheat in school is a measure of competitive pressures, it is interesting to note that there are few such attempts made during the examinations which are held several times a year. Nothing is done to separate the students whose tables are close together. Although the teacher remains in the classroom, he hardly proctors. However, the teacher commented that if a student is suspected of unfair practices, others will report his activities to the teacher.

An impetus for the development of competitive spirit has been the introduction by the Japanese of athletic sports into the schools. The communities participate annually in athletic competitions sponsored by the schools and other agencies outside the community. One is impressed, however, that these events have taken on the Okinawan pattern of a pleasant gathering where the older people can enjoy being sociable while the young men and women engage in various sports.

A few students have regularly assigned tasks and offices. Each class selects a monitor. The method of selection varies, depending on the teacher. In one class, candidates were taken at large, and the student who received the largest number of votes took the office. The monitor is responsible for the class during the morning assembly and during athletics. He sees to it that students line up and remain orderly. In the classroom he has the same responsibility, but we observed nobody discharging his duties in an authoritarian way, although some older boys liked to show their strength in a playful manner of bullying.

[Kanegusuku]
[Kitazato]

on Okinawa observed that the farmer took little interest in the care of land which he did not regard as his own. The author was particularly impressed by the contrast between Japan and Okinawa in regard to the care of land, for the meticulous care which the Japanese farmer lavishes on his land seems absent by contrast among the Okinawan farmers.

241
829
554
463
[77]

Kitazato The farm village of Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son presents a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in that it has suffered the loss of a major part of its area to a military installation. In studying the village of Kitazato the village of Kanegusuku was used as a base line for comparisons. To supplement his own observations the author has drawn heavily on actual statements by Kitazato people; in this way he hopes to present as accurately as possible the actual state of the village compared to villages elsewhere on Okinawa, and the villagers' own conceptualization of their circumstances.

621
[77]
121
621
[124]

Kitazato is not an old village, having been founded but seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families from the Naha-Shuri area. It was politically independent of the neighboring villages during the time of the old kingdom, but after the annexation it was administered in part by the villages of Gushiken and Jahana. In 1936 or 1937 it was established as an independent village, taking its present name.

175
621

Following their release from civilian internment camps the villagers returned to the site of their old homes shortly before New Year's of 1946. They found virtually their entire village land area converted into an airfield and accompanying military installations. According to their account there was considerable misunderstanding between them and the military as to where they might live, and they feel that they were subject to contradictory and inconsistent orders. Several moves were made which disrupted their plans to settle, and one villager stated, "I grew tired of rebuilding my house." In 1948 they were finally ordered to remove themselves from the military area, and they took up residence in their present location. It is claimed that there was insufficient land in the area to resettle the entire village on a single site; so, the village divided into three sections. Thirty houses were located on the beach between the villages of Gushiken and Shinzato, and this segment was given the name Hama. The remainder of the houses settled in the nearby hills from one to two miles away. Thirty-nine houses settled in the hills between the villages of Furushima and Jahana, taking the name Kijikina. Ten houses located themselves in the hills just north of Kijikina in a settlement which they called Anahana. These latter two, however, function as a single settlement for administrative purposes. These 80 houses making up the scattered village of Kitazato have a total population of 414. Despite their physical separation these segments have striven with considerable difficulty to maintain their political and social unity; one mayor and council serves them, and people are constantly visiting from one area to another. Today most of their land is gone, and they are too far removed from any city, town, or military installation (the airfield is abandoned) for employment. Extreme poverty and bitterness are one's first impressions of the village.

175
621
727

[464]
[735]